DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 190 318 RC 012 168

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TITLE Values and Self-Reported Delinquency.
INSTITUTION Tennessee Higher Education Commission, Nashville.; Tennessee Technological Univ., Cookeville.
PUB DATE Aug 80
NOTE 52p.; Paper presented at the World Congress for Rural Sociology (5th, Mexico City, Mexico, August, 1980).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Attitude Measures; College Students; Comparative Analysis; *Delinquency; Evaluation Criteria; Family Influence; Higher Education; High Schools; High School Students; *Lower Class; *Middle Class; *Rural Youth; *Self Evaluation (Individuals); Sex Differences; Socioeconomic Influences; *Values; White Students
IDENTIFIERS Tennessee

ABSTRACT

The association between lower-class vs. middle-class values and self-reported delinquency was the focus of this study of 485 Caucasian male and female high school and college students in rural, middle Tennessee. The typical student's family background was lower-middle class, as determined by his/her father's occupation. The values statements used in the questionnaire were Cohen's (1955) nine middle-class items (e.g., working hard at trying to get ahead) and Miller's (1958) six lower-class items (e.g., being able to handle oneself and being tough). For the 20 categories of delinquency studies, males almost invariably admitted to substantially more involvement than did females. There was a slight tendency for proportionately more delinquency to be admitted to by students from middle-class rather than lower-class families, though the percentage differences between these two groups were quite small. Regardless of the students' sex or their families' social class, consistently more delinquency was reported by students who tended to reject rather than accept the statements contained in a measure of middle-class values. On the other hand, self-reported delinquency was much more ambiguously associated with the students' acceptance or rejection of statements in a measure of lower-class values. (Author/AN)

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VALUES AND SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY

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Paper prepared for presentation at the Fifth World Congress for Rural Sociology in Mexico City, August 1980

RC 012168

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ABSTRACT

Title: Values and Self-Reported Delinquency

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This is a study of the association between lower- vs. middle-class values and self-reported delinquency among 485 Caucasian male and female high school and university students in rural, middle Tennessee, USA. The typical student's family background was lower-middle-class, as determined by his/her father's occupation. For the 20 categories of delinquency studied, males almost invariably admitted to substantially more involvement than did females. Contrary to expectation, however, there was a slight tendency for proportionately more delinquency to be admitted to by students from middle- rather than lower-class families, though the percentage differences between these two groups were quite small. Regardless of the students' sex or their family's social class, consistently more delinquency was reported by students who tended to reject rather than accept the statements contained in a measure of middle-class values. On the other hand, self-reported delinquency was much more ambiguously associated with the students' acceptance or rejection of statements in a measure of lower-class values. Several theoretical and practical implications of these findings are discussed.

This study was supported in part by Tennessee Technological University and the Tennessee Higher Education Commission.

VALUES AND SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AMONG RURAL YOUTH IN MIDDLE TENNESSEE

Singly and, to a lesser extent, collectively, the concepts of values and delinquency have been matters of sociological interest for some time (cf. Clark & Wenninger, 1963; Clinard, 1968; Cloward & Ohlin, 1960; Cohen, 1955; Durkheim, 1954; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961; Merton, 1967; Rokeach, 1973). There is considerable evidence that both factors play a very influential role in each individual's life and in the social system at large. Thus the more or less obvious links between the high price placed on such human values as honesty, religion, and justice and the degree to which the individual is drawn to and/or repelled by deviant/delinquent involvement. It must of course be noted that adherence to some values--that of honesty, say--may equally lead to either the support of a criminal or a non-criminal code, that, ultimately, "deviance/delinquency" remains very much in the eye of the beholder (cf. Becker, 1963).

This qualification aside, the relationships between values and delinquency seem necessarily mediated by such variables as the individual's sex and social class. But while these two dimensions have frequently been separately related to delinquency, these same relationships are not known to have been previously correlated with measures for values (for two relevant studies, see Landis & Scarpitti, 1965, and Clark &

Wenninger, 1963). This, in spite of the reasonably well developed literature directly linking values to sex and to social class. The intention of our own research, then, was to descriptively explore the empirical connections between values and **self-reported** delinquency as these associations may differentially relate to males and females and to middle- and lower-class individuals. Our effort was thus guided by the following working hypotheses: (1) that males will report more delinquency involvement than will females, regardless of social class backgrounds and value orientations and (2) that subscription to middle-class and lower-class values will be associated negatively and positively, respectively, with self-reported delinquency, regardless of the individual's sex or social class background.

Both juvenile and adult delinquency have generally been defined and studied as mostly urban phenomena. We believe, however, that for conceptual and empirical reasons alike, increased attention should be given the etiology and correlates of delinquency among <u>rural</u> residents as well. Our modest effort is intended as nothing more than a preliminary step in this direction. We encourage others to modify and build upon our beginnings.

METHOD

The respondents were 229 white males and 256 white females, approximately half of whom were mostly high school seniors with the remainder being mostly university sophomores.

All were raised in the essentially rural Cumberland Plateau region of middle Tennessee and, on the average, came from families in which the fathers' occupations were characteristically lower-middle-class.

The students completed a self-administering questionnaire distributed by their instructors during regularly scheduled class periods. Among the dimensions measured were those regarding the students' acceptance of and orientation toward various values, some of which are said to be subscribed to more by middle-class persons and others more by lower-class individuals. Specifically, the values statements used were Cohen's (1955) 9 middle-class items--e.g., "Working hard at trying to get ahead"--and Miller's (1958) 6 lower-class items--e.g., "Being able to handle myself; being tough" (also see Clark & Wenninger, 1963). Previous analysis of the present data revealed Spearman-Brown reliability values of .91 and .82 for the respective measures; the item-total score correlations ranged from .59 to .74 for Cohen's measure and from .61 to .70 for Miller's (Hogan & Mookherjee, 1979).

The study's dependent variable--delinquency--was measured with a 20-item listing of delinquent acts for which the students were asked to report their involvement or non-involvement during the year preceding the survey date (1977-1978). Variations of this self-report measure for delinquency have been used previously and found generally reliable and valid (cf. Cernkovich & Giordano, 1979; Clark & Tifft, 1966;

Clark & Wenninger, 1963; Empey & Erickson, 1966; Hindelang, 1971; Kelly, 1975; Voss, 1966; Wallerstein & Wyle, 1947).

RESULTS

In general confirmation of our first hypothesis, the present data show that the female students reported less delinquency involvement than did their male counterparts (see Table 1). Only for 7 offense categories--involving theft, the use of an automobile, drugs, and running away from home--were the male/female delinquency proportions similar. For all other delinquency categories, the sex-specific differences were considerable. For both males and females, the one delinquent act engaged in at least once by the largest percentage of students was "driving a car 10 m.p.h. over the speed limit" (the respective involvement proportions being 90% and 85%); on the other hand, the delinquent act engaged in by the smallest percentage of both male and female students was "taking things of large value ($50 or more) from others" (9% vs. 4%, respectively).

Indirectly disconfirming our second hypothesis, the data suggest that at least for our sample the admission of involvement at least once in the various forms of delinquency during the previous year did not markedly distinguish between middle- ("white-collar") and lower- ("blue-collar") class respondents (see Table 1). In fact, there was a slight tendency for proportionately more delinquency to be admitted to by middle-

than lower-class students. The percentage differences between these two groups, however, were consistently small, with the acts engaged in by the largest and smallest percentages of middle- and lower-class students being the same as for the male and female comparisons made earlier.

Turning next to the associations between the scores the students made on the delinquency measure and Cohen's middle-class and Miller's lower-class scales, the aggregate data in Table 2 indicate that with Miller's items it was only for middle-class males that the values/delinquency scores were positively and significantly correlated as anticipated (for related but not strictly comparable values/delinquency discussion, see Feather, 1975, and Rokeach, 1973). On the other hand, the results to some degree <u>support</u> our second hypothesis with their indication that for male and female and middle- and lower-class students alike, admitting to delinquency was inversely and much more strongly related to subscription to Cohen's middle-class values ($p < .01$). The data in Table 2 also give added support for our <u>first</u> hypothesis by showing that the males' delinquency score was significantly ($p < .05$) higher than the females', regardless of the students' social class backgrounds and value orientations.

In Tables 3 through 10, we present for male and female and middle- and lower-class students the individual correlations linking each of Cohen's and Miller's value statements with each of the 20 self-reported acts of delinquency. These data

bear on our second hypothesis in more detail than do those in Table 2. We encourage the reader to carefully examine the details of these tables for the interesting and sometimes surprising turns they take. But because of space/time considerations, we limit ourselves to presenting only the summary statistics relating values to delinquency.

Looking first at Cohen's middle-class values given in Table 3, we see that of the 20 correlation coefficients linking total values and delinquency scores for the males, 19 were expectedly inverse (18 of them being significant at least at the .05 level). For the females, all 20 of these correlations were negative, with 17 of them being statistically significant (see Table 4). Essentially these same results are noted when comparing the middle- and lower-class students' values/delinquency correlations (see Tables 5 and 6): for the former, 20 were inverse (13 being significant at least at the .05 level); for the latter group, 19 of the correlations were negative, of which 17 were significant.

Turning next to Miller's lower-class items in Table 7, the association between values and delinquency for males is far more mixed than was the case with Cohen's measure for middle-class values. Of the 20 correlations in Table 7, half were predictably positive, with none of them being statistically significant. Almost identically the same result was noted for the female students (see Table 8): 11 of these correlations were positive, as hypothesized, though none was significantly so;

on the other hand, contrary to the expectation we expressed with our second hypothesis, 9 of the values/delinquency coefficients were negative, with 3 being significant at least at the .05 level. The pattern of these findings is repeated when the data are examined in terms of the students' social class backgrounds (see Tables 9 and 10). Thus, for the middle-class students, only 12 of the values/delinquency correlations were positive (one significantly so); for the students coming from a lower-class family background, only 9 of the correlations were predictably positive, with none being statistically significant.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In our study of rural youth in middle Tennessee, we hypothesized and found males reporting significantly more at-least-once involvement in delinquent acts than was admitted to by their female counterparts. And though delinquency studies typically focus upon urban youth, this same general finding has been repeatedly reported not only for the United States but for many other industrialized nations as well (Lunden, 1964). For the 20 categories of delinquency presently studied, for only 1 was the involvement percentage of females greater than the males'. Moreover, the females' frequency of delinquency involvement was invariably less than the males', and significantly so in 12 of the 20 cases. Essentially these same patterns were also found by Cernkovich and Giordano

(1979:139), who, though 26 of their 36 delinquency categories were involved in significantly more by male than female respondents, nevertheless concluded that their "data reveal a striking male-female uniformity in delinquency involvement."

The art of interpreting "social facts" is difficult, at best. Its practice almost invariably leaves one considerably short of the definitive resolution of whatever problematic aspect of human life the researcher chooses to study. Perhaps these caveats are especially applicable to the issue of male/female differences, a topic about which there is currently so much debate (cf. Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). Thus the tempting pressure, always, to emphasize those aspects of our data that give us some grounds for challenging the Conventional Wisdom. It is in just this direction that the social scientist is pushed by a paradigm that gives its highest rewards to "new" discoveries of "new" relationships rather than to the "new" discovery that "old" correlations do or do not bear up under repeated testing. Whether or not these or related considerations apply to the Cernkovich-Giordano work, we cannot say. We do think, however, that this general sociology-of-science issue bears much closer examination than it has received so far.

For our part, we are inescapably led by our own data, our review of the literature, and our understanding of the value structure and socialization forces common to the American society that at least for the more traditional forms of delinquent behavior, such acts remain more characteristic of

males than females, whether they have been raised in predominately urban or predominately rural settings.

As with the male/female issue, the literature is also generally of one voice with respect to the associations typically found between delinquency and the factor of social class. Thus, with rare exceptions, it is the middle-class individual who both theory and research say is much less likely than the lower-class individual to either actually or reportedly engage in acts of delinquency. We did not find this to be the case for our respondents, however. In fact, we found middle-class students tending ever so slightly to report more delinquency involvement than was admitted to by their lower-class counterparts, though, overall, the social class/delinquency associations were quite inconsistent (similar findings have been reported by Empey & Erickson, 1966, Kelly, 1975, Polk, 1966, and Voss, 1966).

Perhaps the most obvious explanation of our somewhat anomalous finding is that (a) university and near-university students are so homogenized by their common socioeconomic aspirations as to render irrelevant the fact that they may have been raised in families that differed at least in terms of their respective fathers' occupational levels, and that (b) as a consequence, such students are not meaningfully differentiated by social class labels with respect to contemporary behavior patterns. Hence our very mixed results concerning our students' social class backgrounds and their

admitted degree of delinquency involvement.

Perhaps a not-so-obvious explanation of our unexpected social class/delinquency finding is the twin possibility that (a) middle-class students may over-report their involvement in delinquency as an anonymous expression of sociocultural "liberation" (much as the more sophisticated female in the 1970s might enlarge upon the reality of her delinquencies as a way of subscribing to the generally egalitarian ethic currently pervading most all male/female comparisons in the American society), while (b) lower-class students may correspondingly under-report their delinquency involvement as a means of being psychologically consistent in their self-identity as would-be members of the middle-class.

Turning next to the issue of values and their relationship to delinquency, we expected and consistently found the students' subscription to Cohen's middle-class values to be inversely correlated with self-reported acts of delinquency. These associations were equally true of males and females and of students from both middle- and lower-class family backgrounds. What we further found, but did not expect, was a positive/negative correlational split in the associations between admitted delinquency and Miller's lower-class values. Again, these results were virtually the same for males and females and for those from middle- and lower-class families. These results initially suggest that at least for the would-be middle-class students we surveyed, middle-class values were much more

salient than lower-class values in influencing their reported involvement in delinquent behavior, and that delinquency was more a function of the students' class-of-orientation than their class-of-origin. We would therefore expect Miller's lower-class values to be predictably correlated positively with self-reported delinquency for samples of decidedly lower-class respondents. Ultimately, perhaps the relationships between delinquency and value orientations may be more a matter of today's population accepting or rejecting what may be the culturally common denominator of middle-class values rather than a matter of accepting or rejecting lower-class values which, at least for American adolescents in the 1970s, may simply be passe.

The first concluding point we make is that our research with rural youth extends and reaffirms results other investigators have obtained with largely urban samples in presently demonstrating a consistently greater degree of reported delinquency by males than females. In the American society over a long period of time, this has been a repeated finding. Among the future challenges it poses is the need to answer the question "So what?" That is, how may this apparent fact positively and/or negatively contribute to the welfare of individuals and of the society as a whole? Is the male/female imbalance in delinquency involvement a form of sociocultural "balance" to be disturbed at the society's peril? If not, can we reduce delinquency among males by applying insights obtained

from closely examining the kinds and contexts of delinquency common to females? In this connection, of what practical benefit would it be to learn how the concept of sex-roles relates to value orientations and ultimately to delinquency? Are androgynous males and females less delinquency prone than either "feminine" males or "masculine" females? Finally, what are the cross-cultural applications and implications of such questions as these?

Our second concluding point is that while for our own rural sample of middle Tennessee youth we have fairly conclusively demonstrated the inverse association--equally for males and females and for those from middle- and lower-class backgrounds--between delinquency involvement and middle-class value orientations, we are left with at least one central and unanswered question: Do middle-class values inhibit delinquency? Alternatively, do people who for whatever reason find delinquency "inexpedien[t] tend naturally to find the tenets of middle-class rather than lower-class values more to their liking? Corollary questions concern whether contemporary social science has correctly identified middle-class vs. lower-class values. Correspondingly, can greater concentration on upper-class and under-class value systems get us any closer to understanding the nature of delinquency? Is either the frequency or mode of delinquency involv[ed] different for those who subscribe to under-class rather than lower-class values? If, as our data suggest, class-of-orientation is a more effective bulwark than

either one's class-of-origin or sex against delinquency, what steps can a society take to insure that its citizens at least psychologically identify with the imperatives of middle-class values, even though the objective facts of their lives may be described as lower-class? At the same time, how likely is it that what the society may gain in delinquency reduction through the greater adoption of middle-class values may be lost precisely because of just such a narrowly defined orientation? In other words, what cultural price is a given society prepared to pay for lowering its rate of delinquent behavior? And how may these concerns have cross-cultural application?

It is obvious that in the end our exploratory work has generated many more questions than it has found answers for. To come up with these answers, and even with more questions, is the challenge for the future.

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TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS REPORTING INVOLVEMENT IN DELINQUENT ACTS ONE OR MORE TIMES DURING YEAR PRECEDING SURVEY DATE

Delinquent Acts	Percent of Students Involved in Each Act One or More Times			
	Male	Female	Middle-Class	Lower-Class
1. Driven a car without license or permit.	48	51	47	52
2. Taken things that belongs to others (less than $2).	37	31	35	32
3. Purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property of others.	29	16	22	23
4. Had sexual relations with a person of opposite sex.	69	49	61	55
5. Taken things of large value of others (more than $50).	9	4	7	5
6. Used or sold narcotics.	28	24	28	24
7. Driven a car 10 miles (mph) over the speed limit.	90	85	90	85
8. Cheated or made a sucker out of somebody.	58	39	51	45
9. Tampered or fooled with another person's car, tractor, or bicycle in their absence.	27	14	21	19
10. Taken things of others, value between $2 to $49.	18	13	17	14
11. Gambled for money or something else with people other than own family members.	64	20	40	41
12. Threw rocks, cans, sticks, or other things at a passing car, bicycle, or person.	25	16	20	21

TABLE 1. (Continued)

13.	Kept or used something, had been stolen by other.	24	17	21	19
14.	Broken down or helped to break down a fence, gate, or door on another person's place.	14	6	9	10
15.	Taken part in a "gang fight."	19	7	12	12
16.	Ran away from home.	10	10	11	9
17.	Broke or helped break the furniture in school, church, or other public building.	14	5	8	10
18.	Threw rocks or sticks, or other to break a window, or street light.	24	10	17	17
19.	Got some money or other things telling lies to other people.	32	28	27	32
20.	Been kicked out of class or school for acting up.	24	19	22	20

TABLE 2. PEARSON CORRELATIONS AND MEAN SCORES LINKING VALUES AND DELINQUENCY TOTALS FOR COHEN'S MIDDLE-CLASS AND MILLER'S LOWER-CLASS VALUES SCALES

	Students' Social Class			
	Middle-Class		Lower-Class	
Values Scales	Male	Female	Male	Female
Cohen (middle-class)	-.34**	-.32**	-.21**	-.34**
Miller (lower-class)	.10*	-.03	-.06	-.07
Mean Delinquency Score	31.1	27.5	29.8	23.4

*$p < .05$ **$p < .01$

TABLE 3. PEARSON CORRELATIONS LINKING INDIVIDUAL DELINQUENT ACTS AND COHEN'S MIDDLE-CLASS VALUES FOR MALE STUDENTS

Delinquent Acts	Values Items*									Total Values Scores
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Driven a car without license or permit.	-08	-17[b]	-10	-09	-04	-17[b]	-16[b]	00	-08	-17[b]
2. Taken things that belongs to others (less than $2).	-09	-17[b]	-08	-13[a]	-03	-05	-20[c]	-01	-18[b]	-15[b]
3. Purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property of others.	-06	-15[b]	-15[b]	-14[a]	-05	-11[a]	-21[c]	-07	-11[a]	-20[c]
4. Had sexual relations with a person of opposite sex.	10	00	02	10	02	-03	06	00	-06	03
5. Taken things of large value of others (more than $50).	-14[a]	-18[b]	-16[b]	-12[a]	-12[a]	-12[a]	-22[c]	-13[a]	-05	-24[c]
6. Used or sold narcotics.	-05	-11[a]	-15[b]	-03	-08	-15[b]	-16[b]	-04	-20[c]	-16[b]
7. Driven a car 10 miles (mph) over the speed limit.	02	00	03	07	-01	11[a]	-11[a]	-09	-01	00
8. Cheated or made a sucker out of somebody.	-05	-11[a]	-14[a]	-20[c]	-07	-09	-28[c]	-09	-24[c]	-21[c]
9. Tampered or fooled with another person's car, tractor, or bicycle in their absence.	-16[b]	-25[c]	-18[b]	-26[c]	-10	-21[c]	-15[b]	-08	-10	-28[c]

TABLE 3 (Continued)

10.	Taken things of others, value between $2 to $49.	-12[a]	-25[c]	-20[c]	-24[c]	-14[a]	-14[a]	-31[c]	-16[b]	-06	-29[c]
11.	Gambled for money or something else with people other than own family members.	-05	-04	-08	-09	-02	-12[a]	-22[c]	-05	-10	-14[a]
12.	Threw rocks, cans, sticks, or other things at a passing car, bicycle, or person.	-05	-20[b]	-02	-14[a]	-07	-08	-19[b]	-10	-15[a]	-19[b]
13.	Kept or used something, had been stolen by other.	-05	-14[a]	-17[b]	-15[b]	-16[b]	-15[b]	-29[c]	-13[a]	-08	-24[c]
14.	Broken down or helped to break down a fence, gate, or door on another person's place.	-12[a]	-19[b]	-10	-17[b]	-06	-06	-18[b]	03	-08	-16[b]
15.	Taken part in a "gang fight."	02	-10	-11[a]	-11[a]	-16[b]	-08	-33[c]	-07	-14[a]	-20[c]
16.	Ran away from home.	-03	-07	-12[a]	-10	-10	-16[b]	-25[c]	-01	-12[a]	-15[b]
17.	Broke or helped break the furniture in school, church, or other public building.	-07	-13[a]	-13[a]	-15[b]	-05	-11[a]	-16[b]	-03	-10	-17[b]
18.	Threw rocks or sticks, or other to break a window, or street light.	-08	-16[b]	-14[a]	-22[c]	-11[a]	-15[b]	-33[c]	-06	-13[a]	-24[c]
19.	Got some money or other things telling lies to other people.	00	-09	-11[a]	-09	-05	-06	-23[c]	-02	-22[c]	-14[a]

TABLE 3 (Continued)

20. Been kicked out of class or school for acting up.	01	-03	-08	-12^{a}	-04	-16^{b}	-19^{b}	-07	-04	-14^{a}

Note: a = $p < .05$; b = $p < .01$; c = $p < .001$.

*1 = working hard at trying to get ahead

2 = showing I am good enough to be on my own sometimes

3 = learning to do things I will need to know when I grow up

4 = being able to pass up things now so I can have things later

5 = planning what lies ahead as much as possible

6 = having good manners and getting along with others

7 = keeping out of fights

8 = make good use of my time

9 = being careful with other people's things

TABLE 4. PEARSON CORRELATIONS LINKING INDIVIDUAL DELINQUENT ACTS AND COHEN'S MIDDLE-CLASS VALUES FOR FEMALE STUDENTS

Delinquent Acts	Values Items*									Total Values Scores
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Driven a car without license or permit.	-10[a]	-04	-17[b]	-20[c]	-17[b]	-12[a]	-09	-21[c]	-10[a]	-21[c]
2. Taken things that belongs to others (less than $2).	-15[b]	-13[a]	-28[c]	-23[c]	-13[a]	-14[a]	-18[b]	-19[c]	-19[c]	-28[c]
3. Purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property of others.	-04	-09	-18[b]	-16[b]	-14[a]	-11[a]	-07	-13[a]	-04	-16[b]
4. Had sexual relations with a person of opposite sex.	-03	-11[a]	-04	+01	+02	-01	-09	+03	+05	-03
5. Taken things of large value of others (more than $50).	-07	-12[a]	-17[b]	-02	-07	-06	-02	-06	-03	-10
6. Used or sold narcotics.	-15[b]	+04	-15[b]	-25[c]	-22[c]	-08	-09	-09	+02	-16[b]
7. Driven a car 10 miles (mph) over the speed limit.	-02	00	-04	-05	-08	-02	-09	-08	00	-08
8. Cheated or made a sucker out of somebody.	-12[a]	-11[a]	-23[c]	-21[c]	-21[c]	-22[c]	-20[c]	-23[c]	-20[c]	-29[c]
9. Tampered or fooled with another person's car, tractor, or bicycle in their absence.	-16[b]	-09	-21[c]	-25[c]	-28[c]	-18[b]	-01	-26[c]	-02	-25[c]

TABLE 4 (Continued)

10.	Taken things of others, value between $2 to $49.	-07	-04	-06	-13[a]	-07	-13[a]	-10[a]	-16[b]	-12[a]	-15[b]
11.	Gambled for money or something else with people other than own family members.	-19[c]	-11[a]	-34[c]	-24[c]	-29[c]	-08	-08	-23[c]	-02	-27[c]
12.	Threw rocks, cans, sticks or other things at a passing car, bicycle, or person.	-02	-21[c]	-27[c]	-10[a]	-21[c]	-12[a]	-08	-20[c]	-17[b]	-23[c]
13.	Kept or used something, had been stolen by other.	-04	-05	-20[c]	-09	-23[c]	-13[a]	-19[c]	-11[a]	-04	-18[b]
14.	Broken down or helped to break down a fence, gate, or door on another person's place.	-02	-10[a]	-23[c]	-05	-21[c]	-09	-09	-20[c]	-04	-17[b]
15.	Taken part in a "gang fight."	-02	-01	-20[c]	-06	-23[c]	-15[b]	-03	-12[a]	-05	-15[b]
16.	Ran away from home.	-06	-10[a]	-19[c]	-12[a]	-18[b]	-21[c]	-08	-18[b]	-08	-20[c]
17.	Broke or helped break the furniture in school, church, or other public building.	00	-03	-21[c]	-08	-21[c]	-08	-06	-18[b]	+06	-18[b]
18.	Threw rocks or sticks, or other to break a window, or street light.	-05	-04	-16[b]	-13[a]	-15[b]	-13[a]	-09	-14[a]	-11[a]	-16[b]
19.	Got some money or other things telling lies to other people.	-11[a]	-11[a]	-28[c]	-19[c]	-23[c]	-17[b]	-15[b]	-20[c]	-27[c]	-28[c]

TABLE 4 (Continued)

20. Been kicked out of class or school for acting up.	-09	-08	-27[c]	-19[c]	-24[c]	-15[b]	-20[c]	-11[a]	-10[a]	-23[c]

Note: a = $p < .05$; b = $p < .01$; c = $p < .001$.

*See descriptive labels for values at bottom of Table 3.

TABLE 5. PEARSON CORRELATIONS LINKING INDIVIDUAL DELINQUENT ACTS AND COHEN'S MIDDLE-CLASS VALUES FOR MIDDLE-CLASS STUDENTS

Delinquent Acts	Values Items* 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total Values Scores 10
1. Driven a car without license or permit.	-06	-08	00	-08	+01	-06	-03	-01	-09	-08
2. Taken things that belongs to others (less than $2).	-14[a]	-20[c]	-24[c]	-21[c]	-16[b]	-09	-26[c]	-14[a]	-23[c]	-28[c]
3. Purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property of others.	-01	-08	-13[a]	-11[a]	-06	-16[b]	-18[b]	-01	-23[c]	-16[b]
4. Had sexual relations with a person of opposite sex.	-03	-17[b]	-13[a]	-02	-07	-13[a]	-07	-04	-06	-12[a]
5. Taken things of large value of others (more than $50).	-04	-06	-11[a]	-06	-06	-12[a]	-20[c]	-02	-12[a]	-14[a]
6. Used or sold narcotics.	-13[a]	-07	-22[c]	-26[c]	-23[c]	-06	-23[c]	-07	-14[a]	-24[c]
7. Driven a car 10 miles (mph) over the speed limit.	+01	-02	-06	-08	-16[b]	+04	-15[b]	-10	+01	-09
8. Cheated or made a sucker out of somebody.	-11[a]	-15[b]	-20[c]	-24[c]	-17[b]	-17[b]	-31[c]	-16[b]	-32[c]	-31[c]
9. Tampered or fooled with another person's car, tractor, or bicycle in their absence.	-11[a]	-12[a]	-18[b]	-28[c]	-15[b]	-24[c]	-15[b]	-09	-18[b]	-27[c]
10. Taken things of others, value between $2 to $49.	-03	-15[b]	-15[b]	-22[c]	-15[b]	-15[b]	-28[c]	-11[a]	-16[b]	-24[c]

TABLE 5 (Continued)

11.	Gambled for money or something else with people other than own family members.	-14[a]	-09	-20[c]	-21[c]	-15[b]	-09	-18[b]	-12[a]	-13[a]	-24[c]
12.	Threw rocks, cans, sticks, or other things at a passing car, bicycle, or person.	-01	-18[b]	-08	-12[a]	-18[b]	-07	-24[c]	-07	-25[c]	-20[c]
13.	Kept or used something, had been stolen by other.	-02	-08	-11[a]	-06	-17[b]	-16[b]	-27[c]	-04	-14[a]	-17[b]
14.	Broken down or helped to break down a fence, gate , or door on another person's place.	-07	-20[c]	-14[a]	-14[a]	-12[a]	-15[b]	-21[c]	-08	-18[b]	-22[c]
15.	Taken part in a "gang fight."	00	-09	-14[a]	-11[a]	-23[c]	-13[a]	-27[c]	-16[b]	-13[a]	-23[c]
16.	Ran away from home.	-04	-12[a]	-17[b]	-14[a]	-14[a]	-21[c]	-23[c]	-11[a]	-18[b]	-23[c]
17.	Broke or helped break the furniture in school, church, or other public building.	-01	-07	-15[b]	-12[a]	-12[a]	-19[c]	-17[b]	-07	-12[a]	-17[b]
18.	Threw rocks or sticks, or other to break a window, or street light.	-03	-09	-13[a]	-18[b]	-14[a]	-19[c]	-34[c]	-07	-20[c]	-23[c]
19.	Got some money or other things telling lies to other people.	-04	-15[b]	-23[c]	-14[a]	-16[b]	-13[a]	-26[c]	-18[b]	-40[c]	-29[c]
20.	Been kicked out of class or school for acting up.	-07	-05	-22[c]	-25[c]	-17[b]	-23[c]	-31[c]	-08	-16[b]	-27[c]

Note: a = $p < .05$; b = $p < .01$; c = $p < .001$.

*See descriptive labels for values at bottom of Table 3.

TABLE 6. PEARSON CORRELATIONS LINKING INDIVIDUAL DELINQUENT ACTS AND COHEN'S MIDDLE-CLASS VALUES FOR LOWER-CLASS STUDENTS

Delinquent Acts	Values Items*									Total Values Scores
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Driven a car without license or permit.	-12[a]	-13[a]	-25[c]	-21[c]	-21[c]	-23[c]	-19[b]	-21[c]	-08	-28[c]
2. Taken things that belongs to others (less than $2).	-11[a]	-10	-16[b]	-17[b]	-02	-11[a]	-14[a]	-08	-14[a]	-17[b]
3. Purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property of others.	-11[a]	-19[b]	-21[c]	-20[c]	-16[b]	-10	-14[a]	-20[c]	+04	-23[c]
4. Had sexual relations with a person of opposite sex.	+08	+04	+06	+05	+08	+05	-03	+06	+01	+05
5. Taken things of large value of others (more than $50).	-18[b]	-25[c]	-22[c]	-09	-14[a]	-07	-03	-16[b]	+03	-20[c]
6. Used or sold narcotics.	-08	+02	-08	-05	-05	-19[b]	-02	-06	-02	-07
7. Driven a car 10 miles (mph) over the speed limit.	-03	+01	00	+05	+06	-01	-12[a]	-07	-07	-05
8. Cheated or made a sucker out of somebody.	-07	-08	-20[c]	-20[c]	-14[a]	-17[b]	-22[c]	-18[b]	-16[b]	-24[c]
9. Tampered or fooled with another person's car, tractor, or bicycle in their absence.	-23[c]	-26[c]	-21[c]	-24[c]	-24[c]	-19[b]	-06	-25[c]	+04	-28[c]
10. Taken things of others, value between $2 to $49.	-20[c]	-16[b]	-13[a]	-18[b]	-06	-15[b]	-17[b]	-22[c]	-01	-22[c]

TABLE 6 (Continued)

11.	Gambled for money or something else with people other than own family members.	-09	-10	-20^{c}	-13^{a}	-19^{b}	-23^{c}	-22^{c}	-15^{a}	-09	-22^{c}
12.	Threw rocks, cans, sticks, or other things at a passing car, bicycle, or person.	-10	-24^{c}	-21^{c}	-14^{a}	-10	-16^{b}	-06	-24^{c}	-09	-23^{c}
13.	Kept or used something, had been stolen by other.	-10	-12	-28^{c}	-21^{c}	-23^{c}	-14^{a}	-25^{c}	-22^{c}	00	-28^{c}
14.	Broken down or helped to break down a fence, gate, or door in another person's place.	-10	-08	-16^{b}	-11^{a}	-12^{a}	+01	-09	-03	+05	-11^{a}
15.	Taken part in a "gang fight."	00	-04	-16^{b}	-08	-15^{b}	-12^{a}	-16^{b}	-02	-12^{a}	-14^{a}
16.	Ran away from home.	-05	-02	-14^{a}	-08	-14^{a}	-15^{b}	-09	-05	-01	-11^{a}
17.	Broke or helped break the furniture in school, church, or other public building.	-07	-11^{a}	-18^{b}	-12^{a}	-13^{a}	-03	-09	-11^{a}	00	-15^{b}
18.	Threw rocks or sticks, or other to break a window, or street light.	-11^{a}	-15^{b}	-17^{b}	-20^{c}	-13^{a}	-14^{a}	-15^{b}	-12^{a}	-08	-21^{c}
19.	Got some money or other things telling lies to other people.	-08	-03	-16^{b}	-14^{a}	-13^{a}	-11^{a}	-11^{a}	-05	-08	-14^{a}
20.	Been kicked out of class or school for acting up.	-01	-06	-13^{a}	-05	-09	-08	-09	-11^{a}	+02	-11^{a}

Note: a = $p < .05$; b = $p < .01$; c = $p < .001$.

*See descriptive labels for values at bottom of Table 3.

TABLE 7. PEARSON CORRELATIONS LINKING INDIVIDUAL DELINQUENT ACTS AND MILLER'S LOWER-CLASS VALUES FOR MALE STUDENTS

Delinquent Acts	Values Items* 1	2	3	4	5	6	Total Values Scores 7
1. Driven a car without license or permit.	-20[c]	+03	+12[a]	-02	+07	+07	+02
2. Taken things that belongs to others (less than $2).	-20[c]	-01	+11[a]	+10	+14[a]	00	+05
3. Purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property of others.	-23[c]	-12[a]	+08	+04	00	-04	-04
4. Had sexual relations with a person of opposite sex.	-06	+01	+02	+04	-02	-04	-03
5. Taken things of large value of others (more than $50).	-17[b]	-09	-01	-08	-09	-02	-08
6. Used or sold narcotics.	-15[b]	+01	00	-01	+07	-02	-01
7. Driven a car 10 miles (mph) over the speed limit.	-05	+05	+11	+14[a]	+01	-07	+03
8. Cheated or made a sucker out of somebody.	-21[c]	00	+14[a]	+08	+08	-02	+07
9. Tampered or fooled with another person's car, tractor, or bicycle in their absence.	-24[c]	-05	00	-09	-12[a]	-05	-08
10. Taken things of others, value between $2 to $49.	-26[c]	-02	+04	-02	-10	+03	-02
11. Gambled for money or something else with people other than own family members.	-09	-05	+09	+01	-02	-12[a]	-05
12. Threw rocks, cans, sticks, or other things at a passing car, bicycle, or person.	-19[b]	+02	+17[b]	+01	-05	+06	+03
13. Kept or used something, had been stolen by other.	-19[b]	-03	+10	+06	+08	+04	+08
14. Broken down or helped to break down a fence, gate, or door on another person's place.	-20[c]	+02	+06	-03	-11	+13[a]	+03

TABLE 7 (Continued)

15.	Taken part in a "gang fight."	-26[c]	-10	+17[b]	+08	-08	-04	+ 01
16.	Ran away from home.	-18[b]	-17[b]	-03	-02	-08	+05	-02
17.	Broke or helped break the furniture in school, church, or other public building.	-19[b]	+01	+07	+03	-01	+08	+03
18.	Threw rocks or sticks, or other to break a window, or street light.	-25[c]	-08	+01	-05	-08	-03	-06
19.	Got some money or other things telling lies to other people.	-11[a]	-07	+09	-02	+04	-04	-02
20.	Been kicked out of class or school for acting up.	-13[a]	+07	+16[b]	+03	+04	+04	+06

Note: a = $p < .05$; b = $p < .01$; c = $p < .001$.

*1 = being able to stay out of trouble and to handle any that comes in the way

2 = getting fun and excitement

3 = being able to handle self and being tough

4 = being smart enough to stay one jump ahead of others

5 = playing luck or breaks to get the most out of others

6 = being one's own boss

TABLE 8. PEARSON CORRELATIONS LINKING INDIVIDUAL DELINQUENT ACTS AND MILLER'S LOWER-CLASS VALUES FOR FEMALE STUDENTS

Delinquent Acts	Values Items*						Total Values Scores
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Driven a car without license or permit.	-02	-03	+07	-07	+11[a]	-09	00
2. Taken things that belongs to others (less than $2).	-17[b]	+11[a]	+06	+06	00	-02	+02
3. Purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property of others.	-05	+01	+09	+06	+14[a]	+08	+10
4. Had sexual relations with a person of opposite sex.	-15[b]	-14[a]	-17[b]	-06	-11[a]	-07	-20[c]
5. Taken things of large value of others (more than $50).	-09	00	00	+10[a]	+02	+01	+02
6. Used or sold narcotics.	-06	+11[a]	+13[a]	+03	-01	-04	+05
7. Driven a car 10 miles (mph) over the speed limit.	00	+04	00	-05	-05	-06	-03
8. Cheated or made a sucker out of somebody.	-21[c]	+02	+03	00	00	-14[b]	-07
9. Tampered or fooled with another person's car, tractor, or bicycle in their absence.	-14[b]	00	+05	00	+08	+07	+03
10. Taken things of others, value between $2 to $49.	-11[a]	+07	+05	+05	+05	+02	+05
11. Gambled for money or something else with people other than own family members.	-19[c]	-13[a]	+03	-10	00	-08	-12[a]
12. Threw rocks, cans, sticks, or other things at a passing car, bicycle, or person.	-17[b]	+01	+08	-03	00	-03	-03
13. Kept or used something, had been stolen by other.	-15[b]	-12[a]	+06	+03	-04	+05	-03
14. Broken down or helped to break down a fence, gate, or door on another person's place.	-16[b]	-05	+14[b]	+04	00	+05	+02

TABLE 8 (Continued)

15.	Taken part in a "gang fight."	-13[a]	-14[b]	+11[a]	+07	-01	+06	-01
16.	Ran away from home.	-24[c]	-05	+08	+01	-05	+01	-05
17.	Broke or helped break the furniture in school, church, or other public building.	-04	-06	+15[b]	+01	+01	+09	+05
18.	Threw rocks or sticks, or other to break a window, or street light.	-08	-05	+14[b]	-01	00	+03	+02
19.	Got some money or other things telling lies to other people.	-21[c]	-11[a]	+08	00	-04	-10[a]	-11[a]
20.	Been kicked out of class or school for acting up.	-15[b]	-03	+17[b]	+03	-03	+01	00

Note: a = $p < .05$; b = $p < .01$; c = $p < .001$.

*See descriptive labels for values at bottom of Table 7.

TABLE 9. PEARSON CORRELATIONS LINKING INDIVIDUAL DELINQUENT ACTS AND MILLER'S LOWER-CLASS VALUES FOR MIDDLE-CLASS STUDENTS

Delinquent Acts	Values Items*						Total Values Scores
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Driven a car without license or permit.	-08	+05	+15[b]	+07	+20[c]	+02	+12[a]
2. Taken things that belongs to others (less than $2).	-25[c]	+04	+11[a]	+08	+09	-04	+03
3. Purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property of others.	-21[c]	-08	+08	+19[c]	+16[b]	+04	+08
4. Had sexual relations with a person of opposite sex.	-19[c]	-06	-10	+10	+03	-05	-08
5. Taken things of large value of others (more than $50).	-13[a]	-11[a]	-01	+04	-01	-01	-02
6. Used or sold narcotics.	-15[b]	+08	+09	+01	+02	-01	+03
7. Driven a car 10 miles (mph) over the speed limit.	-01	+08	+06	+09	+02	-01	+06
8. Cheated or made a sucker out of somebody.	-26[c]	-01	+10	+08	+07	00	+05
9. Tampered or fooled with another person's car, tractor, or bicycle in their absence	-27[c]	-06	-02	-02	-05	-01	-04
10. Taken things of others, value between $2 to $49.	-23[c]	+01	+01	+10	00	+09	+07
11. Gambled for money or something else with people other than own family members.	-18[b]	-09	00	+04	+03	-08	-05
12. Threw rocks, cans, sticks, or other things at a passing car, bicycle, or person.	-20[c]	00	+17[b]	+07	-02	+07	+05
13. Kept or used something, had been stolen by other.	-27[c]	-11[a]	+09	+12[a]	+05	+10	+07

TABLE 9 (Continued)

14.	Broken down or helped to break down a fence, gate, or door on another person's place.	-26[c]	-03	+11[a]	+11[a]	-04	+16[b]	+09
15.	Taken part in a "gang fight."	-30[c]	-15[b]	+11[a]	+11[a]	-10	+02	-01
16.	Ran away from home.	-29[c]	-16[b]	+02	+04	-12[a]	+06	-03
17.	Broke or helped break the furniture in school, church, or other public building.	-21[c]	-07	+07	+11[a]	-03	+12[a]	+03
18.	Threw rocks or sticks, or other to break a window, or street light.	-28[c]	-14[a]	+01	00	-05	+05	-03
19.	Got some money or other things telling lies to other people.	-22[c]	-07	+06	-04	+02	-02	-08
20.	Been kicked out of class or school for acting up.	-21[c]	+04	+20[c]	+06	+02	+07	+06

Note: a = $p < .05$; b = $p < .01$; c = $p < .001$.

*See descriptive labels for values at bottom of Table 7.

TABLE 10. PEARSON CORRELATIONS LINKING INDIVIDUAL DELINQUENT ACTS AND MILLER'S LOWER-CLASS VALUES FOR LOWER-CLASS STUDENTS

Delinquent Acts	Values Items* 1	2	3	4	5	6	Total Values Scores 7
1. Driven a car without license or permit.	-14[a]	-05	+06	-13[a]	-03	-05	-08
2. Taken things that belongs to others (less than $2).	-13[a]	+08	+05	+08	+04	+03	+04
3. Purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property of others.	-11[a]	-01	+09	-06	-02	+03	-01
4. Had sexual relations with a person of opposite sex.	-04	-08	-07	-11[a]	-15[a]	-01	-13[a]
5. Taken things of large value of others (more than $50).	-12[a]	+04	00	+01	-03	+03	-02
6. Used or sold narcotics.	-05	+04	+04	+01	+03	-06	00
7. Driven a car 10 miles (mph) over the speed limit.	-11[a]	+02	+03	+01	-01	-05	-03
8. Cheated or made a sucker out of somebody.	-16[b]	+05	+07	+02	+06	-11[a]	-01
9. Tampered or fooled with another person's car, tractor, or bicycle in their absence.	-11	+05	+03	-04	+05	+09	+02
10. Taken things of others, value between $2 to $49.	-15[b]	+05	+09	-08	-06	-03	-04
11. Gambled for money or something else with people other than own family members.	-11[a]	+01	+13[a]	00	+05	+02	+01
12. Threw rocks, cans, sticks, or other things at a passing car, bicycle, or person.	-16[b]	+05	+08	-07	-01	-01	-02
13. Kept or used something, had been stolen by other.	-06	00	+07	-01	+02	00	+01

TABLE 10 (Continued)

14.	Broken down or helped to break down a fence, gate, or door on another person's place.	-08	+05	+07	-11[a]	-04	+04	-02
15.	Taken part in a "gang fight."	-10	-04	+19[b]	+08	+08	+04	+06
16.	Ran away from home.	-11[a]	-04	+03	-05	+02	00	-03
17.	Broke or helped break the furniture in school, church, or other public building.	-06	+06	+14[a]	-01	+06	+09	+07
18.	Threw rocks or sticks, or other to break a window, or street light.	-09	+07	+13[a]	-02	+02	-01	+03
19.	Got some money or other things telling lies to other people.	-10	-10	+11[a]	+03	-02	-12[a]	-04
20.	Been kicked out of class or school for acting up.	-06	00	+11[a]	+01	+02	00	+02

Note: a = $p < .05$; b = $p < .01$; c = $p < .001$.

*See descriptive labels for values at bottom of Table 7.